

POLITICAL INFORMATION.

THE PRIMARY MEETING AND THE CAUCUS.

Party management begins in the township and wards, and with the action of the body of members of the party in these districts. The primary meeting is the place where all the members of the political party may express their views on the candidates they choose delegates to the larger bodies of the county or State. If it were convenient, all the members of the party in a county might meet in one place, to select delegates or to nominate candidates; and in New Jersey and some other States this was formerly done. But the township or ward primary meeting is now general, because it is the least inconvenient. The primary meetings select delegates for the county, congressional, and State conventions; and these delegates, meeting in conventions on an appointed day, nominate the candidates for office. Any person who is a voter in the township or ward, and at the next preceding election is known to have voted with the party holding the primary meeting, may properly take part in it.

As party government is inevitable and necessary in a free country, the duty of every citizen to attend the primary meetings of the party with which he acts. If honest and intelligent men neglect the primaries, they thereby hand the control of their party over to bad men. It is important to the welfare of the country that both the great political parties should be controlled by wise and honest men; for a corrupt or dishonest minority can offer a feeble opposition to the majority, and in reality helps to strengthen and to debauch the majority; whereas a powerful, honest, and intelligent minority compels the majority to govern carefully and honestly. The democratization of the party which is in the minority may thus, as you see, bring calamities on a country.

"Politics" have always been, in every free State, an enticing profession, followed by many honest and high-minded men out of a desire to see their favorite principles prevail; by other men to advance their private fortunes; and by yet others from a mixture or combination of both these motives. Our own politics are less corrupt, and are far more scrupulous than those of most free nations have been either in ancient or modern times. When, therefore, men talk or write about the peculiar baseness of our politics, you need not entirely believe them. There is a good deal of irritating ignorance and some corruption among our political leaders, but not nearly as much as there is in England or France; it is worse because we meet it face to face. The truth is that our party politics are more intelligently, less dishonestly, and more honorably conducted than those of Great Britain, with which we are oftenest compared, and that the averaged political morality is higher in the United States than in any other nation in the world.

In an ideal State, the people, gifted with unflinching discernment of merit, would select continually, and without prompting of any kind, the wisest and ablest men for their rulers; would select always the most beneficent and the noblest of policies for the nation. Practically, however, these matters are managed somewhat differently. The people are guided more or less by newspapers and by political leaders; men, able or the reverse, are brought into political life by careful management of their friends, or of the higher chiefs of a party who are well on the lookout for capable men to help them; platforms are studied over and prepared by small coteries of politicians, to make them attractive to the people and conformable to the principles which the party profess to advance; and—to return to our primary meetings—the delegates chosen at these are for the most part selected beforehand by the political managers of a county or district, to insure the nomination of certain candidates. Thus where several persons desire a nomination for the same place, the primary meetings are the scene of the strife between them; and it is there that good citizens may defeat a corrupt or incapable candidate in their own party.

The preparatory work which I have described to you above is done in which is called a caucus, which is simply a private meeting of influential politicians. Whether the caucus shall be a good or an evil thing depends on the character of the men who compose it. It is a method of political action used alike by the best and the vilest politicians; the wise and the most necessary measures of the Government, for instance, as well as the basest and most injurious, have been discussed and prepared in caucus before they were presented to the public; and both the ablest and the worst of our political leaders have been introduced into political life, and advanced in it, in the caucus secret, but not the efforts necessarily evil councils by their friends.

In a country where intelligence is widely diffused, and where there is so high an average of ability, it is very seldom that a man, except after long and brilliant service, becomes so conspicuously the one man for the place that his party retains him as a matter of course.

A fault in our political arrangements makes the caucus very often, in the hands of bad men, an instrument for elevating corrupt men to power. This is the practice, in the States and cities, of electing a great many of our representatives in Congress. Where this is done, the caucus enables corrupt politicians to prepare a ticket composed of a few good men and a large tail of the "lowest class" of politicians, and such a "ticket" is then forced upon the party as "the best thing that can be got." The voter kind of the caucus does not know themselves much about a Congressional caucus; but wherever a dozen or twenty candidates are to be nominated, there is their opportunity. If the executive head, be the President, Governor, or Mayor, has the selection, appointment, and removal of all his subordinates, a "caucus" becomes impossible, and the caucus is no longer so powerful a tool in the hands of bad men. In some of our States, at one time, members of Congress were chosen on a general ticket; that is to say, the whole Congressional delegation of the State was voted for by all the people of the State. But experience showed that the caucus put a few good men and a multitude of bad ones on the same ticket; and as for evil only. It is sometimes urged that if the President, Governor, or Mayor has unrestricted power to appoint or remove his subordinates, he will appoint bad men. But even the decisive check of the Senate does not always suffice to prevent the appointment of conspicuously bad or incompetent men; and it does serve to conceal the faults of a ruler, and lessen his responsibility to the people, in a mischievous manner. It is easier than it is for a Governor or Mayor to show his disapproval plainly by bad appointments; for then he will become hateful to the people, and lose his chance of re-election, while the caucus will be shorn of its power for evil.

Do not be ashamed or afraid to meet in caucus, if you should by and take part in politics; but remember that bad men and measures may be defeated there as well as at the primary meetings. And as a sound rule for party action, remember that if, in spite of your efforts, your party nominates a bad man for office, you should vote against him. For it is better, for your party's interest, that it should be defeated if it nominates a bad man than that it should succeed. When a political party becomes the tool of corrupt or ignorant men it is in danger, not of a temporary, but of a

lasting defeat. If both parties nominate bad men for an office, it is better that your own party should be defeated; for it is not to that case responsible for the misgovernment, and your party leaders may learn wisdom from defeat. Hence, the more ardently you desire the success of your political party, the more vigorously you may scratch the bad names off your ticket when you go to the polls. —Nonpareil.

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